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# *Portsmouth in the Glorious Revolution of 1688*

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# PORTSMOUTH IN THE GLORIOUS REVOLUTION OF 1688

Professor Robert Jordan

In some ways Portsmouth profited from the reign of James II, for the king's passion for both his army and his navy brought considerable wealth to the town. Under James the naval dockyards, which had languished for years, began their rapid expansion, and the building of the massive fortifications, commenced under Charles II, was continued apace, with the king himself making annual visits to view the work. Activities such as these created employment for the town's labourers and business opportunities for its tradespeople.

But the favour of the king was a mixed blessing. The result of this expenditure was arguably to make the town into the most powerful citadel in the kingdom, and as James's policies moved closer to absolutism Portsmouth began to take on a sinister appearance to the country at large, at once the bastion of autocracy and the open doorway to that heartland of arbitrary power, catholic France. In popular rumour, and to a considerable extent in royal policy, these dual functions of Portsmouth loomed larger and larger as the political crisis developed and ultimately became armed conflict, the Glorious Revolution of 1688. It was this special significance of the town that created many of the pressures to which the citizens were subjected, pressures which reached a peak in the terrifying weeks between the invasion of William of Orange and the flight of the king.

James's accession may have been greeted with a degree of hopefulness but the mood soon changed. Before long the rapid expansion of the standing army was generating considerable alarm, since such armies were widely seen as a characteristic of autocracies. For Portsmouth, however, this issue was more than theoretical. As a royal fortress the borough necessarily contained a garrison, and given the ill-disciplined, violent, and predatory nature of seventeenth-century armies it was a far from welcome presence. The permanent staff of thirty-eight officials and gunners caused no great difficulties since they were effectively part of the community. The real trouble was the foot soldiers. For years a regiment of these, some seven hundred officers and men, had been imposed upon the town. But in September 1686, in the wake of the army's expansion, that number was abruptly doubled. No other garrison town had a comparable increase, for the bulk of the new troops had been dispersed thinly across the country. Portsmouth now held what was conspicuously the largest concentration of soldiers in England outside London.[1]

Even if the troops had been as docile as lambs, which they were not, this influx would have caused major problems. The available barracks were dilapidated and small, and the number of public houses (on which the government had a right to billet troops) was limited. The town's inhabitants therefore had to be persuaded to accept soldiers as lodgers. Given the size of Portsmouth (for taxation purposes calculated at only two thousand six hundred hearths) finding private accommodation for the residue of even one regiment must have been difficult, and for two, horrifying.[2] It was presumably this crisis that resulted in Portsmouth householders being offered well above the official rate for accommodating a soldier (ten pence a week, as opposed to eight pence), but by early 1688 regimental officers were protesting at this additional financial burden on their men and the king ordered a reversion to the eightpenny fee. At the same time, to cope with the situation, he reiterated a long-standing order that the troops were to sleep two to a bed, and wrote optimistically of plans to cram more of them into the barracks. In June 1688 orders also went out for the construction of new barracks, but it is unlikely that these were completed by the time of the invasion and by then the billetting of troops had become a nightmare for the citizenry.[3]

If the growth of the king's military power was an early source of disquiet it was his religious policy that soon became the dominant political issue. By 1687 England was in a state of mounting tension as James pursued his plans for a Declaration of Indulgence and the repeal of the Penal Laws and the Test Act, steps being taken in the name of liberty of conscience and equality of rights, but widely seen as a plot to subvert protestantism and the national institutions, and hand power over to the catholics. Inevitably, Portsmouth was drawn into the conflict. As part of his campaign to mould public opinion the king began to make great play with loyal addresses congratulating him on his proposals and pledging support for them. Beginning in April 1687 issue after issue of the *London Gazette*, the government's mouthpiece, bombarded its readers with transcripts of these addresses, from non-conformist church groups, collections of citizens and, above all, from the borough corporations. Many corporations obliged, but Portsmouth was not among them. In August the pressure was increased. The king went on his annual progress, this one taking him further afield than any of its predecessors, with Portsmouth (as usual) on the itinerary. The tour was heavily political in its intent, with the non-conformists being sedulously cultivated by the king and the gentry and officials being pressured to show support for the royal policies. By now fear and suspicion of the king were running high and many of the gentry chose to avoid the royal progress,[4] but escape was not so easy for the corporations, and borough after borough greeted James's arrival or celebrated his departure from its vicinity with the appropriate address affirming its support for his plans, all duly published in the *London Gazette*. Portsmouth, however, still held out. The newspaper may have spoken of the king being received, on 17 August, 'with all the expressions of

Duty and Loyal Affection', but no address was forthcoming. Two months later the crown was offered what could only be regarded as a poor substitute, not an address from the corporation, but merely one from 'several of Your Majesties Loyal and Faithful Subjects, Inhabitants in Your Town of Portsmouth'.[5]

One might have thought that Portsmouth, with its strong non-conformist tradition, would have been more susceptible to the king's appeals to support liberty of conscience but, somewhat ironically, the drastic royalist purge of 1660, and the further purge that accompanied the revocation of the borough charter in 1682, had probably been only too effective in weakening the influence of the very people to whom the king was now appealing.

*James II by Kneller*
NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY

*James Fitzjames, 1st Duke of Berwick by Cassana*
EARL SPENCER

Moreover any inclination among the citizens to support James had to contend with the growing resistance of the local landowners, who were a powerful force in the town, and in some cases were actually enrolled as burgesses. The key figure in this group was undoubtedly the Earl of Gainsborough, Lord Lieutenant of the county and Governor of Portsmouth. There can be little doubt that he used these positions to stiffen the resistance of the corporation to the king, if not actually to create it. But Gainsborough himself was under pressure. On the morning of 12 December 1687 he was summoned to a private interview with the king and emerged stripped of his positions. They

*Queen Mary by Wissing*
NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY

were immediately conferred upon the Duke of Berwick, the king's illegitimate and energetic young son, a loyal supporter of his father and a confirmed catholic.[6] The writing was on the wall for Portsmouth. On 20 January 1688 Berwick arrived to take up his new command, and the ever servile *London Gazette* (No. 2315) described the event in lavish detail

> On Friday last his Grace the Duke of *Berwick* came hither, to take Possession of the Government of this Place, lately conferred on him by His Majesty: He was met, at some distance from hence, by the Gentlemen of the Country, who designed to wait on him hither, which his Grace (out of Respect to them) excused his Acceptance of. About Four Miles from hence, he was received by several Gentlemen and other Inhabitants of the Town, who Conducted him to the Town, marching before him in Order, to the place of Parade, where two Regiments were drawn up, with the Deputy-Governor at the head of them, who presented the Duke with the Keys of the Town. He walked from thence to *Godshouse*, where he was met by the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses, who Complimented him in a Speech that expressed their great Joy and Satisfaction to see him in that Government: to which his Grace made a very obliging Return, and accepted from them the Freedom of the Town, which was also, the next day, given to several Gentlemen that came with him thither. The Respects of the Town were shewed on this occasion by the ringing of Bells, and all the usual ways of declaring them.

This glowing account, however, may be less than truthful. Its statement that Berwick excused the local gentry from accompanying him reads oddly, and compares poorly with the report of the admittedly hostile Dutch ambassador, van Dyckveldt, that not a single person of quality had turned out to greet him, despite the custom.[7] The *Gazette*'s comment looks suspiciously like an attempt to explain away an embarrassing snub.

But whatever the attitude of the gentry, the presence of Berwick and those ominous 'Gentlemen that came with him thither' and were granted the freedom of the town, had the desired effect on Portsmouth. Within a fortnight the *London Gazette* (No. 2318) was able to publish the corporation's 'humble Address', one which began with an acknowledgement of its own belatedness and ended with the promise of electing to Parliament only those members who would support the king's plans to remove the Penal Laws and the Test Act. Once reduced to subservience, moreover, the corporation stayed that way. On 17 September it obeyed the king's instructions to continue the current mayor, John Grundy, in office for another year, and in the same month the king's agents were able to report that the borough would not merely support parliamentary candidates favourable to the king but would actually accept his nominees as their candidates.[8]

If the corporation was under control, however, there were ominous signs in much more surprising places. The reliability of senior officials was already being assessed by the king in terms of their replies to the notorious Three Questions: if elected to parliament would they support repeal of the Penal Laws and Test Act; if electors, would they support candidates so disposed, and, a more general question, whether they would 'live friendly with those of all other persuasions'. By 12 May it was being reported that the Three Questions would be put to the officers of the army but Berwick, in a show of efficiency or as a test case, had already acted. Shortly after bringing the corporation of Portsmouth to heel and while busily purging the local magistracy he turned his attention on the garrison. As van Dyckveldt reported, on 13 February 1688

> the said Duke having the intention of proposing the said three articles to all the officers of the Garrison of Portsmouth . . . and wishing that they would sign the same, or that whoever made difficulties should be immediately be cashiered, that the said Officers with the exception of one or two, not enclining at all to it, had persuaded a certain citisan of that Town a strong presbyterian, who in civil terms and with great precautions submitted to the Duke, that should the three articles be proposed to the Officers, without altering the two first, . . . that it was certainly to be apprehended, that they would all refuse to sign it, that it was to the interest of his M. and also touched his Honor, not to meet with a rebuke or a refusal in this respect, and therefore would advise him to strike out the two first questions . . . which advice having been followed by the said Duke the officers have all signed it, expecting of having saved themselves through this, but whether this business will rest with this, and nothing will happen to these officers about it, is doubted by many.

What must have made the experience more galling for Berwick was that one of the two units involved was the Princess Anne of Denmark's Regiment of Foot, of which he himself was colonel.[9]

In spite of this setback, however, Berwick and the *London Gazette* were determined to project Portsmouth as the very model of a loyal town, and the perfect opportunity arose in June 1688, when a male heir was finally

born to the throne. Berwick was in London at the time but he rushed news of the event to Portsmouth by express courier, so that it became the first borough in the realm to present its congratulatory address to the king, a fact heavily stressed by the newspaper. Official celebrations for the royal birth had already been conducted throughout the nation and Portsmouth's contributions to these, also, had been given special prominence

> *Portsmouth, June 12*. On Sunday in the Evening was brought to this place the happy News of the Queen's being delivered of a PRINCE, which was received here with such a Welcome, that without being extremely tedious, We cannot acquaint you with all the particulars of the publick Joy that was expressed here for this great Blessing. Let it suffice to tell you, That Major *Ennis* (who in the absence of Major *Slingsby* commands here in Chief) no sooner received the Good News, but he ordered the Garison to draw up on the Parade, where having given several Vollies, they were discharged from their Arms to drink the Health of Their Majesties and of the Prince, while Major *Ennis* with the Officers, and the Mayor and his Brethren were doing the like on the Platform. After which the Mayor invited Major *Ennis* and the Officers to the Town-Hall, where they were entertained much to their satisfaction, the Cannon playing and Bells ringing all the while, and Bonfires, the Houses at the same time flaming as it were with Lights, with all other demonstrations of Joy, in which the people strove to exceed each other, concluding the night. The next day in the afternoon the Soldiers were again at their Arms, and gave three Vollies with as many Huzza's, after which they again drank Their Majesties and the Prince's Health, Major *Ennis* with the Officers of the Gari-

son, and the Mayor and Aldermen likewise repeating the same on the Platform, while the Cannon played as well from the town and Forts as from the Ships in the Harbor.[10]

But the event that was being so ostentatiously celebrated was the beginning of the end for James, particularly since it coincided with his most inflammatory attack on the established order, the trial of the seven bishops who opposed the reading of the Declaration of Indulgence in the Anglican churches. Hitherto it had been possible to assume that the ageing king would soon be succeeded by his protestant daughter Mary and her husband William of Orange. Now the country was faced with the prospect of a male heir to be brought up in the religious faith and autocratic principles of his father. The threat was no longer short term but permanent.

English developments, moreover, were taking place within a worsening international situation. As early as February 1688 France and Holland had begun to mobilise and war was in the air. Given the bad blood that existed between James and William of Orange an anti-Dutch alliance with France was soon being rumoured, and even before the end of February wild stories were circulating that five French regiments were to be posted to England. It is indicative of the popular perception that these rumours stated that Portsmouth was to be their base. In April James himself began to ready his forces, chiefly as a precautionary measure, but within a month of the birth of the Prince of Wales the king was confronted with alarming suggestions that the Dutch mobilisation was now directed not against France but against England. Soon the French were warning James that this was the case and were offering assistance. The wild February rumour of French troops in England now appeared much less wild, and it seems that the offer of troops was seriously considered. Certainly the king's enemies were only too ready to believe it

> The king of France, when he gave the king the advertisements of the preparations in Holland, offered him such a force as he should call for. Twelve, or fifteen, thousand were named, or as many more as he should desire. It was proposed, that they should land at Portsmouth, and that they should have that place to keep the communication with France open, and in their hands.

The king, in fact, declined the French offer, partly because he could not credit the idea of an attack by his son-in-law. But in spite of his doubts the English mobilisation took on a new urgency. Work raced ahead on the refurbishing of the fleet, sailors were hastily recruited or pressed, orders were sent to all army officers to fill their companies at peril of their places, and on 23 August Narcissus Luttrell recorded that

> His majestie hath ordered all the officers of the army, lords lieutenants, deputy lieutenants, governors of castles and forts, to repair forth with to their respective commands; and 'tis said the seaport towns are to be doubly garrison'd.[11]

If accommodation, and tempers, had been strained at Portsmouth by the problems of a peace-time garrison, this move to a war footing was bound to exacerbate the problems. During September the garrison jumped from two regiments of foot to three, with the added burden of two squadrons of horses who were billeted outside the town in the hamlets of the island. James was prepared for problems and so, at the beginning of September, a declaration was published in the *London Gazette* 'to prevent abuses committed in the quartering his officers and soldiers'. In spite of this 'Complaints are come up from several parts of great disorders committed by soldiers'.[12] In the middle of all this tumult, however, when Portsmouth suddenly burst upon the national consciousness, it was not because of any riot among the troops, but because of a virtual mutiny among the officers. This was the affair of the 'Portsmouth Captains', a business that captured the imagination of the nation in a fashion similar to that of the trial of the seven bishops.

As part of his preparations James had summoned to England several Irish regiments. The move provided a golden opportunity for the propaganda machine of his enemies, for the regiments were overwhelmingly catholic and the common soldiers native Irish. Religious paranoia and racial bigotry were brilliantly exploited in newsletters and whispering campaigns to project the image of hordes of brutal savages, ill disciplined and papistical, descending on the land to rob, rape and murder the protestants. It was the first detachment of one of these regiments, commanded by Roger MacEllicott, which arrived in Portsmouth at the beginning of September, bringing with it some forty recruits surplus to its own needs. For Berwick the solution to this excess of men was simple. He instructed the officers of his own regiment in the garrison, Princess Anne of Denmark's foot, to absorb them into their companies. But the army, and the nation, were already seething with discontent at the number of catholic officers James had illegally appointed to the forces, and were mindful of the way in which the protestant army in Ireland had been ruthlessly converted into a catholic one. Berwick's command looked like a provocative step in the same direction, and six company commanders, including the colonel, John Beaumont,

refused to obey. As Beaumont wrote to the Duke

> We do not think it consistent with our Honours to have Forreigners imposed upon us . . . we humbly Petition we may have leave to fill up our Companies with such men of our Nation as we may judge most suitable for the Kings Service and to support our Honors, or that we may be permitted with all imaginable duty and respect to lay down our Commission.[13]

The king was furious. The six were arrested and sent up from Portsmouth under a guard of cavalry and on 10 September they appeared before a general court martial at Windsor castle

> The fact seemed to be more favourable for the officers than was given out at first, all of them alledging that they knew nothing of those Irishmen coming to town; that the Duke of Berwick had never spoken to them of incorporating them in their companies; that their companies were complete, and no allowance for supernumeraries; and that they did not mutiny against or oppose any order, but had only written to Major Slingsby to desire to represent these matters to the Duke. What resolution the Council of War will come to we know not.[14]

Writing from an embittered exile years after, King James himself declared that Beamont was already conspiring with William of Orange, and feared the Irish recruits as so many spies on his activities. He also reported that several officers sitting on the court martial who were soon themselves to betray him were particularly savage in their condemnation of the officers, and that, in particular, Churchill 'moved to have them suffer death for their disobedience'[15] James, however, having learned from the affair of the seven bishops how dangerous it was to make martyrs, avoided that trap, and merely dismissed them from the service, attempting to control the damage even further by repaying them the cost of their commissions and the expenses incurred in raising their companies. His efforts, however, were to no avail. The Portsmouth Captains briefly became national heroes, with their trial widely reported, their address to Berwick and Slingsby published as a broadside, ballads allegedly composed in their honour, and their portraits engraved and sold.[16] Nor was the damage to the regiment contained, for a group of seven junior officers promptly resigned their commissions in support of their superiors, and were themselves summoned to London under escort. They were handled even more gently than their superiors, merely being put on their parole to appear when required, but the disturbance continued and there were stories of mass desertions from among the common soldiers 'though they venture hanging by it'. There was even some talk of the king himself going to Portsmouth, 'where matters are in mighty disorder'.[17]

It was into a town still reeling from these events that there blundered the unlikely figure of Goodwin Wharton. Wharton's autobiography reveals him as a seriously disturbed man living largely in a world of fantasy, but however odd he may have been he was also a son of Philip, Lord Wharton, a notorious whig, and brother of Tom Wharton, who was to emerge as one of the leading conspirators against James. Goodwin seems to have spent his first few days in Portsmouth locked away in his room, listening to messages from God, with whom he had a lively personal relationship, but his arrival had not gone unnoticed

> [29 September, 1688] The Governor of this place was ye D$^{k}$ of Berwick, ye kings son (by Mrs Churchill) whome tho I had bin w$^{th}$ att Southampton (& civilly treated) yett before his going yesterday to London he was perswaded from ye spight of some about him ye whole garison being almost Papists, to send me word by Major Slingsby ye Lift. governour, That the times were dangerous, & therefore I should give an account of my businesse, or goe out of ye garison, or be confind, which message being afterwards brought me I went to Major Slingsby (a protestant) & satisfied & att night dranke a bottle w$^{th}$ him, & he gave me y$^{e}$ word out of civilitie.
>
> But this morning (the Lord told me they would cut my throat if they could, but they should not) and as I was walking on y$^{e}$ platform, one Coll. Ramsey a papist who then commanded in chief (Major Slingsby being gon a hunting) came to me, & in an imperious tone bid me goe off y$^{e}$ platforme, & out of y$^{e}$ garison & before I went sent me word to be gon in a quarter of an houre or he would lay me by y$^{e}$ heels:
>
> I went then away having however otherwise design$^{d}$ it, & within som houres (as I since heard) an order came from y$^{e}$ king to secure me. Then upon which Ramsey fretting if I was gon sent over y$^{e}$ water to a fort, belonging to Portsmouth, y$^{t}$ if I came there I should not be receiv'd nor harbor$^{d}$, which basely he had cry$^{d}$ by y$^{e}$ bell man. But I was gon into y$^{e}$ Isle of weight, not having winde to reach Southampton that day.[18]

Wharton's trials, however, were not over. Fearing that a popish officer from Portsmouth was sent in pursuit of him he fled to London only to be apprehended and clapped into detention. Within a day he was out on bail, but the

whole business spluttered along for another three weeks before the charges were dropped. It was a trivial matter but it highlighted the tensions in the town, while the wide publicity it received indicated the general state of alarm in the nation.[19]

Well before the Wharton affair had reached its conclusion however, James's house of cards had begun to collapse. Messages from Holland finally convinced the king an invasion was imminent. A Royal Proclamation to this effect was immediately issued (20 September) and there was a new and feverish round of recruitments and troop re-deployments, among the latter being the movement of yet more men to the sea-coast as 'about Portsmouth, into Kent, about Harwich, etc.' For Portsmouth this meant the remaining companies of MacEllicott's foot, which were ordered to march in on 20 September.[20]

With the massive concentrations of troops now taking place, not only in Portsmouth but also in other key centres such as Hull, the normal safeguards and restrictions on the billetting of troops were swept aside. Letter after letter went out from Whitehall in early September instructing one corporation after another that 'on this extraordinary occasion' the rules preventing enforced billetting on private individuals were to be waived, if the public houses were not sufficient for the purpose. No actual instruction to Portsmouth survives, but the emergency procedure was clearly followed there and since the Irish were the latest arrivals they were the ones most likely to be the occasion of this treatment. MacEllicott's regiment, moreover, had left Chester on its march south with a very bad reputation for not paying its debts. Accordingly it is no surprise to find the corporation, after the event, reporting bitterly that the town had been 'a long time opprest and burthened with the insolency of an Irish and Popish garrison who have . . . made themselves absolute Masters of our homes and goods and by free quartering upon us have utterly impoverisht our Towne and places adjacent'. By October reports were coming out that 'the Irish Regiments [sic] in Portsmouth live almost without Discipline and at discretion'. The stories began to proliferate

> [9 October 1688] From Portsmouth we hear great complaints of the rude Irish who have caused many families to leave that place, having committed many robberies, particularly their own Mayor [i.e. the Town Major?] goeing in the night to see if there sentinell kept their post, five of them fell upon him and robbed him.
>
> [11 October, 1688] We hear from Portsmouth that some Irish men breaking open an alehouse for drink were reprimanded by some English, beat and abused them, and beat of [sic] two files of English musketeers, in which quarrel its said four or five were killed and several wounded, and that two officers are run through the body.

Finally, in late October, came the wildest affray of all

> [27 October, 1688] Wee have a fresh Acc$^{t}$ from Portsmouth of a great disorder which within these few dayes hath hapned in that Garrison between y$^{e}$ Souldiers of the Duke of Berwicks Regm$^{t}$ and the Irish Regiment commanded by Coll Mackillicut which tis said was Occasion'd by an Irish Souldier firing into the Church with Bullet in time of divine Service – the present acc$^{t}$ is that 50 or 60 are killed and wounded on both Sides.[21]

This last affair was widely reported, with the details varying from version to version. In van Dyckveldt's account, for example, forty were killed on the spot, several Irishmen had fired into the church, and twenty-two of the latter were in prison in the town awaiting trial.[22]

Concurrent with these events, moreover, James was taking steps which were hardly calculated to reassure the

citizens. Henry Slingsby had been Lieutenant Governor and Town Major of Portsmouth for many years. He was now relieved of these posts, which were handed over to Irish catholics. On 5 October Sir Edward Scott became Lieutenant Governor and on 20 October Darby Macartie became Town Major. Of the two positions Scott's was clearly the more important, since in the absence of the Governor his Lieutenant effectively ruled the town, and Berwick was to spend much of the next few months at the king's side. Scott proved to be a man of a violent and impulsive nature, more inclined to terrorise the civilian population than to reassure them. He was to play a key role in the events that followed. In the meantime the shift in power in the town did not go unnoticed even beyond its boundaries. On 7 October John Evelyn remarked in his diary that the king 'continues to remove protestants & put papists into Portsmouth & other places of trust'. On 19 October van Dyckveldt reported a rumour that another two thousand Irish troops were to be sent there. Clearly the fear of Portsmouth as a French enclave was being replaced by the fear of it as an Irish one.[23]

There were other respects, however, in which the king was making desperate and clumsy efforts to placate his subjects and win back their loyalty. In the panic of the impending invasion edicts poured out of Whitehall reversing many of the more inflammatory decisions of the last few years. As Narcissus Luttrell tartly remarked 'Oh rare invasion, to occasion so many gratious acts in restoring things to their old legall foundation, which hath been the work of some years past to unhnge!' As early as 22 September Berwick was instructed to reinstate the Deputy Lieutenants and Justices of the Peace within his Lieutenancy who had lately been removed or had resigned. On some date between the second and the twentieth of October the king's appointee as Portsmouth's mayor, John Grundy, was quietly relegated to the status of alderman, and replaced by Thomas Hancock. And on 13 October came the announcement that the ancient charters, liberties, rights, and franchises' were to be restored to the boroughs. The drastic remodelling imposed on Portsmouth by Charles II was to be swept away. The corporation promptly responded with a loyal address expressing its gratitude (duly printed in *The London Gazette*, No. 2398, 8–12 November) and hastily sent its representatives to London to recover the ancient document. Finding it in the chaos of Whitehall, however, proved no easy task, and through all the turmoil of the next month those representatives were left burrowing away as the regime crumpled around them.[24]

The common assumption was that the Dutch would attempt a landing in the north. Portsmouth's role in such an eventuality soon became clear. By 29 September it was being said that the queen and the infant Prince of Wales were shortly to leave London and take up residence at a country house close to the fortress, into which they could retreat if necessary. Another plan, if Bishop Burnet can be believed, was to arrest the chief opponents of the king and imprison them, not in the Tower, as one might expect, but at Portsmouth. Clearly these stories point to a belief that James was later to articulate in his memoirs, that London could not be trusted and was too large to be controlled if it did turn against the king. Portsmouth, then, was being thought of as his secure base behind the lines. But from the very beginning it may also have been something else. As early as 20 November one reason being reported for moving the queen and prince to its vicinity was to give them safe and rapid access to France. The town was not only a strong-point. It was also an escape route.[25]

On 1 November the Dutch invasion force put to sea, but instead of heading northwards it sailed into the English channel, unchallenged by the king's fleet which was trapped by winds and tides in the Thames estuary. The south coast had suddenly become the front line, with Portsmouth a probable invasion point. Van Dyckveldt reported agitated debates in the king's council about what to do now with the queen and prince, but clearly a move to Portsmouth was out of the question. Instead, before dawn, some two thousand troops were assembled in Hyde Park and marched off to reinforce the garrison, with Berwick accompanying them.[26]

At dawn on 4 November a customs officer on the Isle of Wight sighted the Dutch fleet and raised the alarm at Cowes Castle. The drums beat the minute garrison to arms and a message was sent to the aged governor of the island, Sir Robert Holmes, who called out the militia and sent urgent messages to Portsmouth and London. By early afternoon the enemy ships were lost to sight in a dense fog, but since, by that time, they could have landed if Portsmouth or the island had been their target, Holmes began to feel reasonably safe. All the next day the militia was 'out upon the hills' but saw no further sight of the enemy, so that Sir Robert began to imagine that their object, after all, was not England but France. Before the day was out, however, he learned otherwise. Three Dutch ships, separated from the main force, came to anchor in St Helens Road. Before they slipped away again a small boat was sent ashore and a remarkably loquacious Englishman in the landing party told some of the locals 'that their fleet were gone to land their men in Lyme Bay, and after intended to harbour their ships here, and that their design was to have provisions here on fair terms, otherwise they will have it by foul'. The English ambassador at The Hague was soon reporting a similar story, a plan to sail for the west but 'to land some men in the Isle of Weight, to

*Lord Dartmouth by Riley*
NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY

keep Portsmouth blocked up . . . and . . . interrupt all communication with France'. Early in the reign John Evelyn, visiting Portsmouth, had learned of the vulnerability of the Isle of Wight to attack, and hence the threat to Portsmouth. His informant on that occasion was in all probability Holmes himself. Now that threat seemed about to be realised, with the added fear that some of the island's defenders were not to be trusted

> I shall not be able to oppose these people, being Master of this island, except the little forts and castles that may hold out for some time. Part of the militia is grown mutinous already, and refuses to follow their commander's orders, as I am afraid they will do everywhere where his Majesty has occasion to call for them. Yarmouth and Hirst I put my stress upon, and will defend both to the last. I hope his Majesty will give me some speedy relief; for want of one troop of horse to keep this militia in awe the island will be lost without striking one stroke for it; God knows how I shall be dealt with by this militia. I have drawn into Yarmouth and Hurst for want of 100 men to keep them in awe.[27]

William duly landed his forces at Torbay, but the rendezvous of the Dutch fleet at St Helens Road did not take place and the nearest Portsmouth came to an encounter with the enemy was on 11 November when a Dutch man-of-war pursued the royal yacht, *Mary*, towards the harbour

> We shot from the upper stone platform out of one of the two angle guns which reached him and fell very near his stern; he struck his flag and topsails, saluted and came to an anchor to view the ships and the harbour. He weighed in the evening and went to sea.[28]

With the threat of an immediate attack removed, there was no need for Berwick and his reinforcements, which were redirected before they even arrived in the town, most of them joining the field army, which was assembling at Salisbury.

On 17 September the king, confused and uncertain, left London to join his troops. At the same time arrangements for his family were finalised. The queen was to stay in London, possibly because her pregnancy made travel undesirable, but the Prince of Wales was to be separated from her and moved immediately to Portsmouth, even though it was now so much closer to the front line.[29] It looked suspiciously as if the town's value as an escape route was now its major appeal. By this time the rot was already setting in. On the previous day the first major defections had taken place from the royal army at Salisbury, and when the king arrived there on 19 November and saw the demoralisation, he himself collapsed both physically and emotionally. On 21 November William's advance began, and on 23 November James ordered a retreat, with the enemy still sixty miles away from him.

On the very day that the king had left London for Salisbury his fleet, stalled by the winds, had finally appeared off the Isle of Wight, in belated pursuit of the invaders. But all was not well on board. On 6 November the English ambassador at The Hague had written to London that the decision to risk a landing in the west had been taken because of 'assurance the King's fleet would not engage, divers captains having declared they would not fight against their religion'. Many of the officers were indeed conspiring, though they had not dared make any overt moves. Lord Dartmouth, the admiral of the fleet, had suspected them even before the invasion force sailed, and nothing had increased his confidence by the time he reached the Isle of Wight. Instead of approaching Portsmouth he continued westward, since 'if I had gone into Spithead I knew many wants would be pretended and considerable time delayed, besides for other reasons I thought it best for your Majestie's service to bring the fleet to fight as soon as conveniently I could'.[30] But his aim of attacking the enemy came to nothing. The English ships were scattered by a violent storm, many were badly damaged, and by 22 November (with the King himself poised for his retreat from Salisbury) most of them were back at Spithead, clamouring for repairs in the dockyard. Dartmouth continued to pepper the king with his protestations of devotion and his laments at being unable to do more, but in effect the fleet no longer had any role in relation to the Dutch. From here onwards its main concern was to be with the affairs of Portsmouth.

The day before the fleet's return to Portsmouth the Prince of Wales had himself arrived, 'considerably improved by his journey'. What had also arrived, however, was news of the defections from the army at Salisbury, with an inevitable effect on the garrison. 'I find a great alteration in most people's faces since my comeing in hither,' Dartmouth was to write, 'not for want of loyaltie in most of your Commanders, but the dayly impressions they receive make them stand amased'. Indeed the desertions may have already begun to eat into the garrison. 'The first captain of Sir Edward Hales's regiment is missing and several others', it was reported. The regiment had only just arrived in the town, to replace the Queen's regiment which had been ordered to London, and the officers had probably slipped away during the march down, rather than absconded from Portsmouth itself, but in either case the effect was much the same.[31]

What was also beginning to affect the town was an obstructionism on the part of some officials that looked suspiciously like efforts to sabotage the royal cause. A notable troublemaker was Mr Ridge, who acted as paymaster for the Ordnance Office. This was presumably Richard Ridge, brewer and alderman, one of the wealthiest citizens of Portsmouth and an aggressive and unscrupulous businessman, whose free-booting behaviour emerges from the borough records in the numerous fines and penalties imposed upon him. Ridge's house had been chosen to accommodate the Prince of Wales but the honour seems not to have softened him, for there were continual clashes with Thomas Phillips, the ordnance engineer, who was struggling to get the fortifications into a reasonable condition. Phillips's workmen were soldiers seconded from the garrison and the Ordnance Office consequently had to provide subsistence for them. But for weeks on end Ridge falsely claimed that he had no funds available, even though some of the men were literally starving, others had been driven to desertion, and the remainder were on the verge of mutiny. Phillips himself had to go about with an armed guard 'to keep the soldiers from pulling me to pieces for want of where with all to subsist upon'. Ridge also made persistent difficulties about acting on the authority of Phillips, the Governor, or the Deputy Governor, claiming he was responsible to the Commissioners, and required their signature on any matter of significance, and he was 'continually making scruples and putting off

The Portmouth
CAPTAINS.
The Hon.ble Coll. John Beaumont
The Hon.ble Capt. Tho. Paston
Capt. Simon Pack
Capt. Thomas Orme
Capt. John Port
Capt. William Cook
Pro Latria Patria Atria

*The Portsmouth Captains, from a contemporary broadsheet*
BRITISH LIBRARY

*Portsmouth in 1679*
DARTMOUTH PAPERS, STAFFORDSHIRE RECORD OFFICE

from time to time all manner of business that comes into his hands'. Robert Shales, also an alderman, and Clerk of the Cheque in the dockyard, was another troublemaker, though his tactic was rather to avoid Phillips so that the latter could not carry out business with him.[32]

In this atmosphere the conspirators on board the fleet, 'even some that were timorous and silent hitherto', began to stir. At a private meeting they decided to send the Prince of Orange a statement of their readiness to serve him. Since this message was to be 'in secret and by word of mouth' they were clearly taking as few risks as possible, and attempting to preserve their facade of loyalty for as long as they were able. Accordingly George Byng, later Earl of Torrington, was landed at Gosport and, disguised as a farmer, made his way across country to meet the advancing Dutch at Sherborne. On 28 November he spoke with William, still in the utmost secrecy, before returning with a letter for the conspirators and another to be given to Lord Dartmouth at whatever time seemed appropriate. The officers' waiting game was to continue.[33]

On 25 November the king, with his army disintegrating about him, hastily sent Lord Dover to Portsmouth to take command in the absence of the Duke of Berwick. Dover carried with him a letter to deliver to Lord Dartmouth at the appropriate time

> I have charged Lord Dover also to speak with you of my intentions concerning my sonne, and you must follow Lord Dover's directions as to what concerns our sayd sonne, by being assisting to him in what directions I have given him by word of mouth. I have not time to say more.

As events were to prove the matter of the Prince of Wales was Dover's chief concern, but for some time he kept his counsel, and applied himself to the critical situation that was developing in the fortress. By the time he took control the garrison, which had never been adequately provisioned, was in serious straits for lack of supplies, with few funds to purchase more, and this situation, and the general climate of the town, was made even worse by the arrival, at about the same time as Dover, of an additional regiment of Irish footsoldiers, commanded by Colonel Antony Hamilton, remembered today as the elegant author of the *Memoirs of Grammont*. It was no doubt Dover's appraisal of the situation in the town that led the Treasury, on 29 November, to send urgent instructions to the Commissioners of the Excise 'to cause all their officers about Portsmouth, Southampton and places any ways adjacent thereto to pay their receipts of Excise or Hearthmoney' to Lord Dover 'all by reason that his Majesty's affairs at this juncture require moneys at Portsmouth'. Dover, however, evidently felt that more desperate measures were called for and on that same day he seized the funds that had arrived in the dockyard for payment of the workmen and blocked the sending of any further provisions from the yard to the fleet, which was busily revictualling. Presumably his aim was to divert the money and the food to the garrison. This arbitrary act put Lord Dartmouth 'in such a consternation that I was not able to know what to say' while Pepys, in London with the Navy Board, found it no less 'surprizeing or grievous'. No small part of their alarm was caused by the thought of the unpaid dockworkers simply downing tools and walking off the job. Soon, however, Dartmouth recovered his wits and managed to persuade Dover to to change his mind, return the funds and allow the ships to resume victualling. Dartmouth's relief at this was furthered by the news that the king proposed to call parliament, a step that the officers of the fleet, and many other groups, had been urging upon him in the previous week, in a barrage of loyal addresses. The fleet greeted the news with an address of thanks, which Dartmouth sent off to the king, but he accompanied it with a personal note in which he was clearly attempting to distance himself from some of the implications of the document he had signed.[34]

In fact by now control of the fleet was drifting out of Dartmouth's hands and into those of the conspirators, and his support for the calling of parliament may well have been extorted rather than genuine. Certainly Byng's biographer believed he could not avoid signing the address, and pictures him

> in great doubts how to behave with regard to the Prince's party in the fleet; and to act according to his principles and consistent with his duty to the King . . . seeing himself in the power of those of the other party.

Whatever difficulties Dartmouth experienced over the call for a parliament, however, were insignificant compared with those about to confront him. On the afternoon of 2 December Lord Dover came aboard, produced his original authority from the king relating to the Prince of Wales and a further letter from the king to Dartmouth on the same subject which had just arrived. This letter brilliantly captured the confusion in the king's mind but even more alarming than its style were its contents

> [1688, Nov 29th, Whitehall]. This is the second letter I write to you upon the subject of my sonne, tho' the other was from Andever [Andover], as I remember, it will not have been delivered to you soner than this. That was not given to you soner, hoping still

things would not have been so very bad as they are. 'Tis my sonne they aime at and 'tis my sonne I must endeaver to preserve, what so ever becoms of me, therefore I conjure you to assist Lord Dover in getting him sent away in the yachts, as sone as wind and weather will permitt for the first port they can gett to in France, and that with as much secresy as may be, and soe that trusty men may but [sic] put in the yachts that he may be exposed to no other danger but that of the sea, and know I shall look on this as one of the greatest piece of service you can do me.

James R.

Nov. 30th, Since the writing of what is before I have altred my mind as to the delaying of it a little, as you will see me more at large by myne to Lord Dover, to which I refer you, and do againe conjure you to use your utmost endeavours to have my sonne secured as in the first part of this letter and to have all things ready when 'tis proper for him to embark as I have already sayd in myne to Lord Dover.

J. R.

Any hope that the postscript presaged a change of mind was short lived. On the next day, 3 December, came the king's abrupt command by way of Lord Dover 'immediately to put in execution the orders . . . for the sending away of my sonne'.

Dartmouth received the news 'with the greatest dread and griefe of heart imaginable'. Hitherto, while effectively doing very little to support the king, he had been able to make a good show of total loyalty. Now he was placed in an impossible situation. Technically it was illegal for the king or the Prince of Wales to leave the country without the formal concurrence of parliament or a Council of State. More to the point, the fleet as a whole could no longer be trusted to carry out such explosive orders. As the Duke of Berwick reported in his memoirs, by this time Dartmouth 'had no more than the title of Admiral, and . . . he was apprehensive, if the Prince were embarked, the fleet, totally devoted to the Prince of Orange, would deliver him up into the hands of his enemies'. In addition, Dartmouth's instinct for self-preservation was probably growing stronger. With so many defecting, with the king's cause crumpling and apparently doomed, were risks worth taking? As James bitterly remarked in his memoirs, Dartmouth had no need to take positive steps that involved the rest of the fleet. The yacht *Mary* had been chosen as the escape vessel, her captain, William Fasby, was totally loyal and had received separate orders from the king. Dartmouth could simply have averted his eyes and allowed the escape to take place. Indeed he may briefly have gone along with such a proposal, for James, in his memoirs, reports that the admiral at first 'seem'd to concur readily' at the departure of the prince, and a cryptic, unsigned, undated note has survived which appears to be from Dover advising Dartmouth of their intention to slip away under cover of darkness, without a signal gun and with their lights extinguished as they approached the fleet. But the plans for the flight were suspected by the conspirators and they, by 'representing to Lord Dartmouth the consequence it might be to himself to suffer his escape, when the nation was in confusion and the government unsettled' persuaded him to take positive steps to thwart the proposed departure. Accordingly he summoned Lord Dover to dinner 'and tould him it was against the Law to carry the Prince out of England without a positive order; and that he had such an one, he would not suffer it to be done least he should be call'd to account for it afterwards, and in short positively refused to let him go'. He also wrote a long and agonised letter to the king still protesting his loyalty and giving elaborate reasons for his refusal to obey the royal order. These reasons were the legalistic ones, and the political dangers of placing the Prince of Wales in the power of the king of France. There was no mention of the threat posed by the disloyalty of the fleet.[35]

By now however, that disloyalty was barely concealed, for the conspirators were determined to prevent the prince's escape and, if possible, to seize him. Accordingly they pressured Dartmouth into authorising three of their ships to stand off Portsmouth and intercept any vessels putting to sea. In addition two armed boats were unobtrusively posted close to the *Mary* with orders to attack it as soon as it left its moorings with the prince on board. These boats were commanded by two of the conspirators, Captain Cornwall and Lieutenant Byng, and every evening one of them was quietly landed to lurk about the town gathering intelligence on the prince's movements and sending signals back to the boats from a secluded part of the town wall.[36]

Faced with Dartmouth's refusal Dover seemed to acquiesce. In a short, bitter note he promised that until they heard the king's reply to Dartmouth's letter the Prince of Wales would be kept safe in Portsmouth. But in fact he apparently went ahead with his original plan. Goods were seen going on board the *Mary* yacht by Captain Cornwall, who was told that they were Lord Dover's. Several women, who were said to be of the prince's entourage, were also seen boarding the vessel. Seriously alarmed, Cornwall sent one of his men to make further investigations, through whom he learned that the plan was to sail

with the prince to St. Malo as soon as the moon was up. However, 'the milk and pap were sent for ashore and he believed they would not go that night. It was kept a secret'. The next morning, 4 December, Dartmouth wrote a vigorous protest to Dover

> Notwithstanding what I said to your Lordship yesterday whether by the folly or meanes of Captain Fazly, or by a gentleman of my Lord Powys, or one of the pages of the back staires, or all I knowe not cetainely, but I have received intelligence and the fleet was alarumed last night with the endeavours to carry away the Prince of Wales; for God's sake, my Lord, make noe such rash attempt.

This seemed to have its effect, for another of the watchers soon reported that 'severall passengers and goods is come from the mary and put ashore again so that it is seade that the voyage is over'. But not everyone was so optimistic. On 5 December Sir Richard Beach, the Resident Commissioner in charge of the Dockyard, was informed privately that it was intended to put the prince on board the yacht that night and be gone with him. He duly warned Dartmouth 'knowing very well what trouble and misery this kingdom may sustain for the future if his escape be not prevented'. The story was either false, or the plan was thwarted, for the prince was still there on the evening of the 6th when letters arrived from the king

> I thinke my sonne is not safe, (as things are now,) where he is, and therefore think it necessary to have him removed from thence as sone as may be. I have written to Lady Powis to that purpose; if the way be open by land, he shall come that way, and I have sent troops to meett him, and ordred Lord Dover to command them and come up with him. If the Prince of Orange's troups gett bettwene this and Portsmouth then he must come by sea.

Dartmouth must have been enormously relieved. He replied, agreeing that the land passage was the safer, since 'I do not hear of any of the Prince of Orange's forces this way . . . [and] there cannot be an unsafer season than this for the sea'. However, he was not to be further consulted in the matter. All that night the gates of Portsmouth 'were kept open till four in the morning, and during the time coaches, wagons, and horses went from the town into the country, as is judged towards Chichester, and a great deal of goods carried to the waterside and shipped on board some vessel'. Again it was Sir Richard Beach writing urgently to Dartmouth, but Byng and Cornwall had not missed these activities either

> At the time Capt. Cornwall was in town, he observed a great hurry in Mr Ridge's house, where the Prince was lodged, and who was then on the staires going to embark; and the captain of the yatch going in haste to the seaside, he joined him to learn from him some intelligence; but getting none from him, he returned to the house, where he found the Duke of Powis's . . . his coach and six horses at the door; and approaching them in the dark, felt their leggs, which he found dry; which made him conclude it was not a coach come in but going out of town. He was surprised at this and went to the wall to acquaint Mr Byng with it . . . and then returning back found an end of the enterprise, the Prince of Wales going in the Duke's coach to London.

Unacquainted with the king's letter to Dartmouth Byng believed it was a last minute change of plan 'since all the baggage and necessarys for the child were then on board [the *Mary*], and he certainly upon the point of going off'. Similarly uninformed, Sir Richard Beach was convinced the prince was being taken to an inlet further east to join another ship

> for if they had intended to carry him to London they need neither be ashamed nor afraid of daylight, but all their works are works of darkness, though God in his great mercy does bring them to light. The gates are now shut, and they are resolved to keep them so to keep us from the knowledge of what they have been doing.[37]

Sir Richard's fears, however, were groundless. In the dark of the morning, well before dawn, the prince, accompanied by Lord Dover, Lord and Lady Powis, and their servants had stolen out of Portsmouth, for London. Lord Dartmouth himself had not been informed and only learned of their departure later that morning from Sir Edward Scott, who passed on a message from Lord Dover. So concerned was Dover to maintain secrecy, or so urgent was the departure, that the party left without its military escort, an act they soon regretted

> the orders coming to the Lord and Lady Powis to bring the Prince away before those troops [being sent by the king] could reach Portsmouth, they prepar'd for a journey next morning, and My Lord Dover command'd Collonell Clifford to be ready by six a clock with an escorte, but afterwards thinking that too late an houre perswaded My Lord and Lady Powis to set out by fiue, so they were got three miles from the Towne ere it was light, when no guards

apearing, they were in great concern; but My Lord Dover perswadeing them it could not be long ere they came up, they venter'd on till they came to the Forest of Beares, and there were in a mighty perplexity what to doe, so they desir'd one Mr Maccarty an Irish Officer who fortuned to accompany them to ride back and hasten up the guards, who in his way meeting a Country fellow, asked him what news? He sayd he knew none, only that a partie of hors had been at Collonell Norton's the night before, where they had refreshed themselves, and was gon that very morning in to the wood; Mr McCarty apprehending it might probably be the Enemy, enquired of the man, if there was no other coach road to mis the wood, he tould him there was, and a better way too, upon which intelligence, they immediately turned into it and arrived at Petersfield ere the guards over took them.

It was sayd afterwards that the Prince of Orange had notice from Portsmouth of what had pass'd there, and that certainly the Prince would be carryd back to London; and therefore he had detach'd a hundred hors, two Captains, two Leiftenants and two Cornets to intercept him, and that they were then actually in that wood when the Prince took the other road: so visibly did Prouidence watch over his preservation, as to chang a seeming disapointment to his greater Security, for had the guards been with him, they had probably not light of that guide but follow'd the ordinary road, and fallen, by consequence into the ambuscade; and it is probable his escort had been too weak (supposing them willing) to defend him against so great a partie of the Enimy.[38]

With the Prince of Wales safely out of the way Dartmouth could turn his mind to other matters, the first of which was the rapidly deteriorating position in Portsmouth. One aspect of this, of course, was fear of the imminent arrival of the Dutch forces, either by land or sea. The news that the king had appointed his commissioners to treat with William of Orange on 30 November might have seemed to promise an immediate truce but in fact William avoided an interview with them until 7 December and in the interval his forces continued to advance remorselessly. By that date they had reached Hungerford in Berkshire and on the next day it was being reported in London that

> We are here near a crisis, the two armies not far asunder, the Prince of Wales come back from Portsmouth, the King's Commissioners this day with the Prince of Orange.

However, it was not until the 10 December that the commissioners returned to the king and in the meantime the tension continued to mount. By 9 December five hundred of the Prince of Orange's dragoons were reported to have advanced as far as Ringwood, in the direction of Portsmouth. On 10 December there was the sound of gunfire from the fleet, leading to the panicky assumption that the Dutch naval forces had arrived and that a naval engagement was under way, but it proved to be only the English vessels firing a round of salutes.[39]

But it was not only the threat from without that was creating chaos in Portsmouth. Friction and violence were everywhere in the community. By 6 December Dartmouth's fleet was still over a week away from completing its repairs and revictualling, but in the meantime the situation between sailors and soldiers had become explosive. The focus of this hostility was the murder, by several Irish soldiers, of the boatswain of the *Ossory*, Jonathan Hall, who had been instrumental in saving the life of James years before, in the wreck of the *Gloucester*. This murder, 'with the killing and wounding of some others,' wrote Dartmouth, 'hath so enraged the seamen that I am in paine to send boates ashoare even upon the necessary occasions'. Some unfortunate Irish troops had been posted on board the fleet, presumably to act as marines, and they faced the full wrath of the seamen. On December Scott wrote to Dartmouth to take into consideration

> the poor condition of some of Col. MacEllicott's Regiment who are on board the Dreadnought and the Plymouth who are so poorly dealt with by the crew, that the officers are already weary of them, it being as much as they can to save them from being thrown overboard by the seamen.

By that time Scott had managed to apprehend five Irishmen for the murders and handed them over to the Portsmouth magistrates, who packed them off to Winchester gaol to await punishment, but this seems to have done little to defuse the situation.[40]

The civilian population was equally unhappy with the soldiery. On 8 December Richard Norton of Southwick wrote to Lord Preston in London

> It is much against my temper to complain, but truly the miserable condition of my poor heighbours in the Isle of Portsea, wherein Portsmouth stands, inforceth me; there are not many houses, as his Majesty knows, and of them not above 5 or 6 publichouses . . . and yet there are 8 troops of the Lord

*The Saluting Platform*
PORTSMOUTH CITY MUSEUM

Cornbury's dragoons which are and have been quartered on them a fortnight, to the utter ruin of many poor families, for they are not only on free quarters, but do much damage in their barns; but what is yeat most grievous, they are so many of necessity quartered in every house, that many of our poor inhabitants with their wives and children have not been in bed since they came; and as abundance of them very sickly, that if it continues thus it will be a total ruin of the island, for people were not very forward to come thither in time of peace for the sickliness of the place. If his Majesty's affairs require it we must submit; I say we, because I have a house where I keep one servant at board wages, upon whom 12 are quartered . . . . These inhabitants did make a complaint to the Lord Dover before he went, who would have thought of easing them, I believe, but he went away . . . Oh my lord, could I enter into particulars it would move compassion. I doubt his Majesty does not hear of the murders committed and attempted by the strangers.[41]

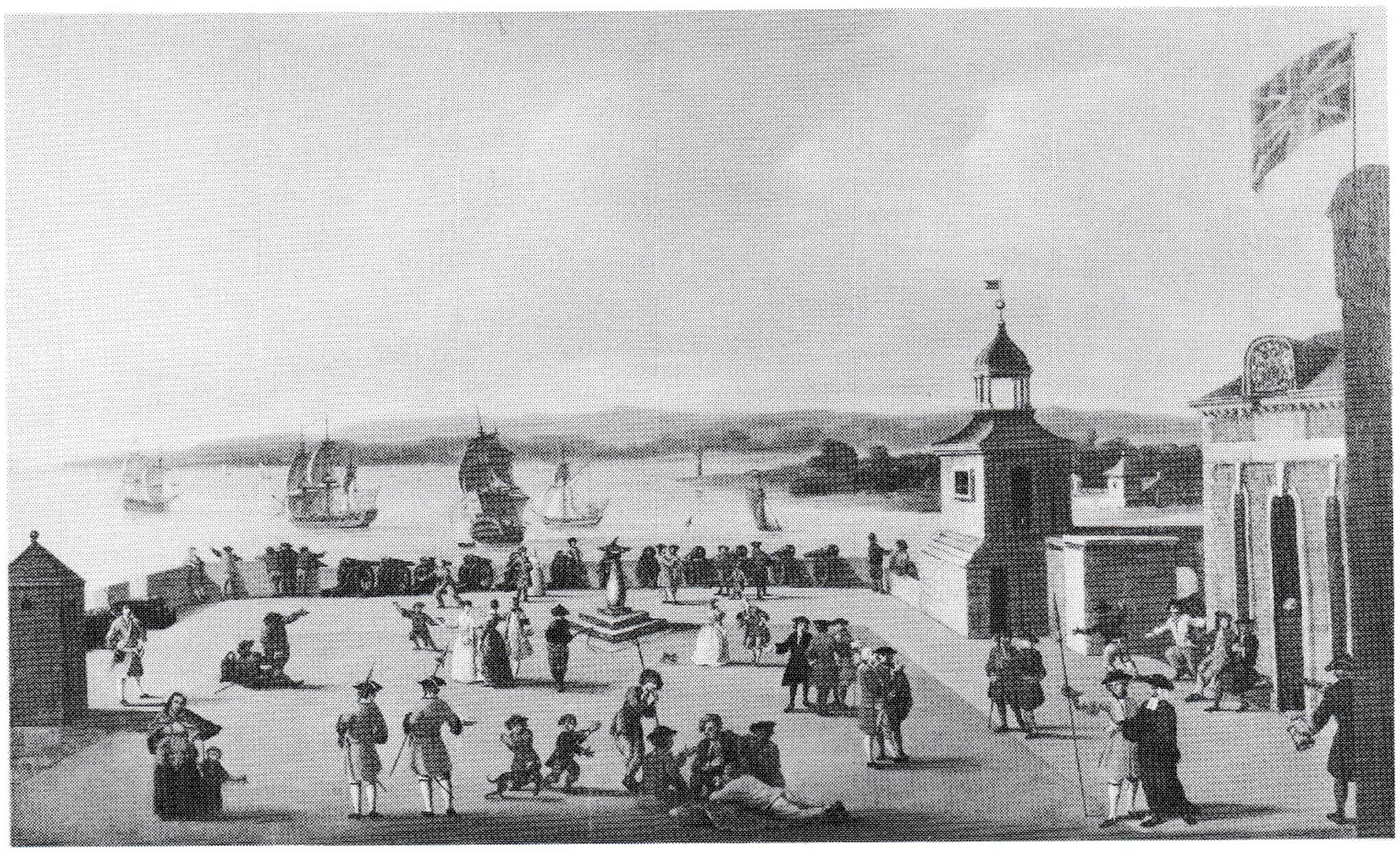
Tension was also building up at the command level. Dover, fortified with the excise money, and a 'treasure' that was to be sent down from London on 5 December, had set about securing provisions to last four thousand men for a period of six weeks. But the butchers, bakers and brewers were fully employed provisioning the navy and the only storerooms and facilities available for such a large-scale operation were those controlled by the dockyard. Dover apparently attempted to outbid the navy in gaining the services of the tradesmen (to the alarm of the Dockyard Victualling Office), and after his departure Scott attempted to beg or bluster his way into use of the facilities. In these efforts, however, he found himself resolutely blocked by the storekeeper. This gentleman was named Richard Ridge and was either the alderman in another of his money-making pluralities or an equally bloody-minded member of his family. Certainly he used the very tactics that Thomas Phillips had found so frustrating in his dealings with Ridge the paymaster, giving the lead to other officials in refusing to obey the governor's orders without confirmation from higher authorities. To make matters worse the fleet was proving singularly unhelpful to Scott's efforts to get stores into the town that he had secured elsewhere. A supply of biscuit and meal sent by the king was sitting at Christchurch, and one hundred quarters of oats had been bought at Southampton, but merchant vessels were refusing to sail to Portsmouth for fear of having their crews pressed by the navy, and Scott's pleas for a small naval vessel to be sent to pick up the goods simply resulted in their being seized for the navy's own use.[42]

On 10 December the friction in the town reached a new level. On the evening of that day Scott summoned the mayor of Portsmouth and ordered him to prepare warrants to press the town teams for work on the fortifications. The mayor, Thomas Hancock, had evidently been under pressure to do this earlier, and came with a prepared answer, namely that he was advised he could not do it of his own authority, but if he were commanded to do so by the king or the Master of the Ordance he would readily obey

> Whereupon the said L$^{t}$ Governor fell into an extravagant passion and called the Mayor Rogue villain and many other opprobrious words and the said L$^{t}$ Governor struck and puncht the said Mr Mayor with his fist 10 or 12 tymes in ye Breast and the said L$^{t}$ Governor said that the whole Corporation were Rebels and that this Revolution would distroy his Majestie and that God dam him he would sacrifice every Soule of them . . . and some he would hang over the walls others he would cutt their throats but none should escape but should be all sacrificed on the first approach of the Prince of Orange's army before the Town.

Immediately after this torrid interview the mayor 'for fear of having his throat cut' fled for sanctuary on board the flagship of Lord Dartmouth who sent Scott a stiff letter demanding an explanation. Scott's reply, of 12 December, perfectly captures his attitude to the town he was commanding. He suspected the mayor of conspiring with officers of the garrison, and 'tis usual in several countries upon occasion in time of war to threaten inhabitants to keep them to their duty and allegiance, tho' at the same time no hurt is intended'. By the time of this reply, however, two of the aldermen had managed to escape from the town and were on their way to Whitehall to complain to the king and to ask for Scott's removal, and shortly afterwards a brief but lurid account of the affair appeared in one of the newspapers which had sprung up in this period of collapsing authority.[43]

Two days after the mayor's ordeal it was the storekeeper's turn. On 11 December officers of the garrison reported to Scott that 'all the powder was carrying away out of the Magazine' and on the next day two carts arrived to take even more. Ridge, without any advice to Scott, was simply transferring it to the fleet, and this at a time when the latter, as he said, was expecting daily to be besieged. Scott promptly blocked the movement of the powder, ordered that Ridge should have no further admission to the stores, and sent men to seize all the keys. There was a confrontation and Ridge, like the mayor, fled to the fleet, taking his keys with him.[44]



By this time the townfolk were in a state of wild alarm at the 'threatenings which daily proceede from the Governor S[r] Edward Stott, and the rest of the Irish Officers and Souldiers in the Garrison for plundering and Massacreing the Townes people and all others in their power'. On 12 December Sir Richard Beach reported this to Dartmouth and also his fears that they planned to destroy the dockyards by fire upon the first appearance of the Prince of Orange's forces 'their threatenings having sufficiently Manifested their intentions and more particularly S[r] Edward Scott, who hath shewn very little respect to your Lo[d] by his execrations and Curseing of you, as I suppose your Lo[d] hath been allready informed'. The dockyard, with only a pallisade around them, was desperately vulnerable and Sir Richard begged Lord Dartmouth to leave some of his least seaworthy ships in the harbour as additional protection. He was also mounting the strongest guard he could 'with the people that belong to the yard, haveing 160 firelocks, pikes and ammunition'.[45]

By that date, however, events had taken a new turn, though some of the news had not yet reached Portsmouth. On 10 December James, now in total panic, had written to Dartmouth informing him that Berwick was being sent down to take personal command of the fortress and would be bringing with him important orders for the fleet. More disturbingly, the letter announced that 'things having so very bad a prospect I could no longer defer securing the Queene and my sonne, which I hope I have donne, and that by tomorrow . . . they will be out of the reach of my enemys'. The letter was received on 12 December, and on the same evening Berwick himself arrived, but without any orders of any kind for the fleet and with no clear instructions of his own. What had also arrived was the stunning news that the king himself had fled on the previous day. Dartmouth was left in total confusion, and called a meeting of his officers. It was a position in which those who had been in secret communication with William no longer felt any need to be covert. Instead they produced the letter to Dartmouth which William had prepared on 29 December for delivery at an appropriate time. It called on Dartmouth, in the name of 'the Protestant religion and the liberties of England' to join the fleet under his command with that of the Prince of Orange. Under such pressure Dartmouth buckled and agreed to negotiate with William and to dismiss all catholic officers under his command. Luckily for his own peace of mind a letter arrived shortly after from London where, in the king's absence, a group of bishops and peers had set up a council as a *de facto* administration. This group now ordered Dartmouth to adopt a line of action similar to that demanded by his own officers, so that he was able to accede to the latter 'with the more willingness'[46]

The fleet was now officially neutralised but effectively under the control of the pro-Williamite officers. In Portsmouth, however, things were very different. It is possible that James had sent Berwick to Portsmouth to hold the fortress in case the king needed to make his escape in that direction, and certainly, when James did disappear, old Colonel Norton considered it was possible that he was in Portsmouth. In fact, of course, the king had fled towards Dover. One of his last acts before his flight had been to write to his commander-in-chief, Lord Feversham, in terms which the latter construed as virtually instructions to disband his troops, an effort to deny control of them to William and create as much confusion as possible, in line with such acts as his burning the writs for the calling of parliament and disposing of the Great Seal. Feversham had accordingly ordered the disbandment and dispersal of the field army, to the fury of William and the panic of the nation, who were now faced with the prospect of armed ex-soldiers marauding across the country. Central to this fear was the image of the wild Irish, and on 12 December London and much of the country was echoing with rumours that the Irish troops were on the rampage and massacring protestants throughout the country.[47]

These fears, of course, had a particular pertinence to Portsmouth, crowded as it was with Irish. It was that very evening that the Duke of Berwick arrived and while this promised some relief, in that it meant Sir Edward Scott was no longer commander of the garrison, the calming

effect of this was entirely nullified by the fact that Berwick brought with him a regiment of Irish dragoons 'which put the Town with former Threats, into a great Fright'. On the next morning Berwick and Scott seemed to be set on following Feversham's example, for the gunners, who manned the fortress's artillery and were a distinct force, were assembled upon the platform and read a letter written by the king announcing 'that at present he had no further service for those in arms under his command'. They were thereupon dismissed and their sustenance stopped. Similarly Berwick ordered the disbandment of the Princess Anne of Denmark's Regiment, Sir Edward Hale's Regiment and the regiment of Irish dragoons which had just marched into Portsmouth with him, as well as dismissing all the protestant officers that were in Lord Hamilton's and Colonel MacEllicott's Irish regiments of foot. These two regiments, which were now catholic from top to bottom, remained as the active garrison of Portsmouth, the disbanded troops either leaving the town or remaining there as a potentially turbulent body of the unemployed.[48]

It was in the light of this situation that old Richard Norton of Southwick made his move. On 13 December he wrote to Lord Darmouth regretting his inability to wait upon his lordship: 'I cannot get rid of the gout and the least cold will put me back again, and I would not be ill at this time'. Almost incidentally he mentioned that 'I am getting myself a good guard here of my neighbours for we have many Irish dragoons quartered near Portsmouth, where they keep them out'. In fact what Norton was doing was raising the country for ten miles around his home, and by the next morning, Friday 14, he had assembled a force of a thousand horse and foot which he promptly led to Portsdown, overlooking the town. Here

> the Coll. exercised them, and provided them a Noble Dinner; thither came some more Gentlemen, and some of the Militia Officers to acquaint the Collonel, that if he had occasion they would send him 1000 Horse; at which time came 3 Officers from the Duke of *Berwick*, to know the Collonels Reason for raising the Country; who answered, For security of *Portsmouth*, in case the *Irish* should attempt to murder the Inhabitants, as they had sworn they would; as also for security of the Country from the insolencies and abuses of those they had disbanded, etc. The Duke of *Berwick* reply'd by an Officer, That he would assure the Colonel, and the Gentlemen with him, that he would not suffer any such villanous actions to be done, nor should any more Forces be disbanded without their knowledge. The Colonel hereupon did dismiss the Country, withal wishing them to be in a readiness at an hours warning[49]

But Portsmouth's troubles were still not over. By now the troops in the town were clearly in a totally demoralised condition, so much so that Lord Dartmouth wrote to Lord Feversham, urging him

> For God's sake, my Lord, take some pity of this poor garrison of Portsmouth, tho' they did not at first use me well yet I am grieved at heart for them and I hope they will find mercy. They are I think willing to do anything or goe anywhere, poor wretches. For God's sake help them in their deliverance. The Duke of Berwicke I hope will be safe.

But the troops in the town, though in panic, were by no means submissive. On the very day that Lord Dartmouth wrote this letter (Friday 14), the mayor, Thomas Hancock, who had apparently spent the last four days on board Lord Dartmouth's flagship out of fear of the garrison, returned to the town. He found it 'in a great fear, and all the shops are shut up, the Irish threatening to do strange things'. Not surprisingly many of the inhabitants were fleeing from the town every night, under cover of darkness. Indeed the mayor's own stay was short-lived, for he was threatened with violence and once again fled his house, going on board Sir William Jennens' vessel, the *Warspite*, for safety. Before he fled, however, he left instructions that if the soldiers offered any abuses to the town the watchman on top of the church tower was to light three torches as a signal. Lord Dartmouth's response was to promise that within half an hour of such a signal he would land five thousand seamen to protect the townsfolk, 'which keeps the *Irish* here to great awe.'[50]

At three o'clock on the same afternoon some seamen, under pretence of coming in for a drink, gained entry to Gosport castle and seized it, driving out the garrison and shutting the gates. Upon this other seamen in Gosport and the inhabitants of the town rose and drove all the soldiers out of the town.

> The Duke of *Berwick* sent to command them to deliver up the Castle; but they peremptorily refus'd saying, they were resolv'd to prevent the threats of the *Irish, viz* to burn the Town, and blow up the Castle. The Duke then sent them word, if they did not immediately surrender, he would beat it about their ears: To which they as immediately answered, That if his Grace sent a Governour and Garison that were all Protestants, they would surrender, otherwise not. In this *Gosport*-Castle are 20 Guns, stands low, and Cornerways to the Town, so that the Guns from *Portsmouth* cannot bear upon it.

The situation led to an immediate response from Sir William Jennens, on whose ship the mayor of Portsmouth had sought sanctuary. He wrote urgently to inform Lord Dartmouth of the seizure of the castle and of Berwick's threats, and went on to declare that since those in the town were protestants he judged himself obliged, if they were ill treated, to defend and assist them to his power: 'they are in very great trouble and will be more if the Irish part not before the fleet sails'. By 15 December it was being reported that 'all things are in peace and quietness at Gosport'. Elsewhere they were not. Sir Richard Beach reported that none of the workmen would risk coming to the dockyard to work until the Irish had left Portsmouth 'the sayings and orders of the Duke of Berwick being little valued'[51]

Berwick himself clearly feared that the seizure of the castle was the first step towards an assault on Portsmouth itself. As the Master General of the Ordnance in Portsmouth, Mr Moodie, wrote to Lord Dartmouth

> Last night [Saturday 15] by a warrant from the Duke of Berwick to me, the 50 muskets which were in the state room upon the platform were delivered to Colonel Mac-Ellicott's regiment. I did refuse, till I had spoken with the Duke, who told me it must be. The guards were all doubled last night and 12 soldiers with a sergeant and corporal, which I understand was upon fear of a surprisal from the fleet and Gosport, etc.
>
> My Lord, Sir Edward Scott sent this morning [Sunday 16] to me to the *Paradise* where he demanded of me, whether I was sure of the gunners, I told him as aforesaid [that most of them were no longer serving because of the king's letter of dismissal], whereupon he commanded me to give his orders once more to all the gunners to be at the platform at 4 o'clock in the afternoon.

The letter ended on a plaintive note which perfectly caught the dilemma of many of the officials in the town:

> My Lord, we doubt by all these symptoms, that our condition may be bad enough, for when the Prince's forces appear, if we obey not, we are all at the mercy of these, and if we obey, we wrong our consciences, and are also hanged or killed.[52]

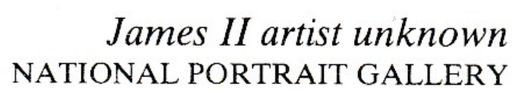
Dartmouth evidently told the Master General to attempt to recall the gunners to their duty, partly no doubt because he shared that officials concern at the vast amounts of stores and munitions lying untended on the parapets and partly because the Prince of Orange himself was desperately trying to countermand Feversham's order and keep the troops together. It was, however, an uphill battle. There were, to begin with, only twenty gunners, far too few for the purpose, and most of those were 'Superannuated'. They were now, also, totally unenthusiastic. With a great ado Moodie secured first four and finally eleven who were prepared to serve, but when they were mustered on the *Paradise* and assured it was at the admiral's orders nevertheless one of those present, the 'base' Mr Soledon, 'before them all, told me he would serve no longer, under a Popish governor, and so hath left me'. With the remaining ten Moodie glumly promised to do what he could.[53]

In the meantime Lord Dartmouth was endeavouring to persuade the Duke of Berwick to act in a more conciliatory fashion. On Saturday 15 they had met and Dartmouth had probably urged compliance with the proposals for a protestant garrison in Gosport castle. Indeed he had gone further and urged on Berwick the desirability of handing another outlying fortification, Southsea Castle, back to its original commander, Richard Carter. Since Carter was concurrently a naval officer, captain of the frigate *Plymouth*, this would effectively have transferred control of the castle from Berwick to Dartmouth, as well as putting it under the immediate command of English protestants instead of Irish catholics. Berwick may have initially shown some inclination to agree but by the next day, Sunday 16, he seemed to be having second thoughts

> Since I saw you yesterday I have considered that Southsea Castle, being in the island of Portsmouth, and the dragoones being quartered all upon downe those parts, it may putt them in fear and apprehensions to have any others, but soldiers of the guarrison of Portsmouth, be putt into that castle, besides that it will render the people of the island more insolent (as also those of abroad) and it being more immediate under the eye of Portsmouth.

Dartmouth gave an immediate and tactful reply, arguing compliance with his earlier proposal. On the next day, however, seeing that Berwick had not handed over the castle, he wrote again, and though still polite, was unmistakeably threatening

> The great care and concerne I am under for your Grace moves me to write you once more about giving speedy directions that Southsea Castle be immediately put in possession of Captain Carter . . . . This as I acquainted you yesterday is the only meanes to put the people of the country and neighbourhood out of such apprehensions as may be very



*James II artist unknown*
NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY

prejudicial to you if not removed; therefore for God's sake, Sir, do not longer give me to believe one thing and be misled to do others when you are from me. You cannot thing . . . that the Castle would be of much use to you if you should resolve (which God forbid you should be put to) to stand it out obstinately, and believe me, Sir, when the countrey shall withold provisions from you (which the doeing this will be a great motive to hinder their doeing) your case will be very desperate in few days without so much as fireing a gun to any purpose. Being informed that the inhabitants are under great apprehensions of the dayley threats of unadvised people, I do as a friend admonish your Grace heartily not only to discountenance any such proceedings but to take effectual care that not the least violence be offered to any even in your worst apprehensions, for anything of that nature being aggravated will embarrass you so farre as to put it totally out of my power to serve you.[54]

Berwick's own aims at this time are not absolutely clear; indeed he himself may have been in considerable confusion as to how to act. His initial disbanding of the regiments, in conformity with Feversham's directive, looked like the first move towards capitulation, and by 15 December it was known in London that he, like other commanders, had written to the Prince of Orange offering conditions for the surrender of Portsmouth.[55] The retention of the two Irish foot regiments may have seemed ominous but was open to innocent interpretations. Conceivably they also had been intended for dismissal but were kept in being because of Berwick's promise to Richard Norton not to disband more troops, since they would involve a threat to the neighbourhood. Conceivably they were retained so that Berwick could maintain some authority in Portsmouth while awaiting a formal surrender. From his point of view Irish troops were the best choice for this duty, since he could rely on their loyalty and knew they would be totally useless to the incoming regime. He had no need to dismiss them, to prevent William taking them over as fighting units, since their race and religion would force William himself to disband them.

But whatever Berwick's motives on the thirteenth and fourteenth of December his plans may well have been thrown into disarray with the arrival of the news on the evening of the fourteenth that the king had not in fact escaped, that he had been prevented by a mob at Faversham and was still in the country. On 16 December he rode back into London to the acclamations of a great crowd and promptly made a show of taking up the reins of government again. Where did the king's failure to escape leave a loyal supporter? Did his return to London negate plans for the disbanding of the army? Was it possible that he would need Portsmouth as a loyalist fortress? Clearly Dartmouth suspected that Scott and some of the other hotheads in the garrison were proposing defiance, at least in the short term, either by resisting further erosion of their position or by moving over to the attack. Berwick also may well have been contemplating further resistance, but if so he clearly recognised the truth of Dartmouth's last letter to him. Many years later, in his memoirs, he wrote

> It would have been very difficult, not to say impossible, for me to defend this place; for though I was very sure of my garrison, consisting of two thousand five hundred foot, and five hundred dragoons, yet I had no magazine or provisions; neither could I procure any, because I was blocked up at sea by the fleet, which would not suffer any vessel to enter the harbour; and on the land side M. Norton, a Colonel in Cromwell's time, having collected the militia of the country, had posted himself upon the heights of Post down, and thus stopped up the passage in and out of the little island of Portsmouth. I had been on board of Lord Dartmouth, to represent to him the want of provisions I laboured under, and the necessity of supplying me with them, in order to preserve the place: he answered me, with tears in his eyes, that he agreed in all I said to him; and that on his part, there was nothing he would not do for the King's service; but that he was no more master of the fleet than I was; that in reality he was a prisoner there, though to appearance, all honours due to an Admiral, were paid him; that it was Sir J. Barry, his Rear Admiral, who really commanded; and therefore, that the best advice he had to give me, was not to come on board any more, lest I should be made prisoner. I was therefore obliged to agree with Norton, that I would commit no act of hostility, provided he would permit the country people to come to market as usual, for we only subsisted from one day to another.[56]

By 17 December, however, the danger was evaporating. Berwick had submitted to the wishes of Lord Dartmouth and had handed over Southsea Castle to Captain Carter and a small garrison of seamen from the fleet. On the same day, apparently, instructions had arrived from the Lords Council in London, now working in collaboration with the Prince of Orange, that Sir Edward Scott should be removed from his post. Lord Dartmouth had been urging this step also, and accordingly Sir Edward surrendered his commission to Lord Dartmouth on board the latter's flag

ship that evening. Although Scott had been given a certificate by the Duke of Berwick ordering 'that he may in no ways be molested by anybody' he, like those he had been threatening in the previous week, seems to have felt safer on board the fleet, and had so gone there for sanctuary. Dartmouth accordingly sent him as a prisoner on board the *Fubbs* yacht, which was apparently becoming a repository for the more extreme supporters of King James. Lady Scott was already on board, expecting a speedy passage either to Guernsey or to France, and the six 'Popish Priests' in Portsmouth, whom the *English Currant* No. 4 declared had 'sold the Furniture of their Chappel, and run away with the Money' were presumably among the 'titular bishop and some priests' that Sir Richard Beach reported were intending to board the vessel. By late on 17 December, then, Dartmouth was able to write to Pepys announcing the situation was well under control, a letter of which a more detailed version was sent to Richard Norton on the following day. In it his emphasis was on his success in controlling the 'insolent and indiscreet behaviour' of the Irish garrison and 'the rash unthinkeing Sir Edward Scott'. A further letter was sent to the king. In it Dartmouth was forthright enough in his criticism of James's attempt to flee the country but he continued to profess his loyalty, and his handling of the Portsmouth situation was described as his 'care of the Duke of Berwicke, garrison and harbour of Portsmouth', a somewhat different emphasis to that in the Norton letter and one which shows Dartmouth still attempting to justify himself to all sides.[57]

On 19 December Sir George Berkeley, Lieutenant-Colonel of Sir Edward Hales Regiment, who had been sent by Berwick to the Prince of Orange with offers of surrender, was dispatched from Windsor with a reply. The surrender had been accepted and a body of men was being sent to take possession of the garrison. The regiments currently in the town, which William clearly hoped to preserve for his own service, would be assigned to other quarters. No danger or ill usage needed to be apprehended and the governor and lieutenant-governor, after the handing over, would have leave to go where they chose, with all their baggage. On that same day Berwick received a letter from the king ordering him to deliver up the town as soon as any of the prince's troops arrived and then to join James. The new garrison, twenty one companies of the first Regiment of Guards, under Lieutenant Colonel Reresby, duly arrived on the evening of 20 December. In preparation for their arrival all five regiments of the old garrison were drawn up on the Green. They cannot have made an entirely impressive spectacle, for while the Irish foot regiments were reasonably complete Berwick's attempted disbandment of the other three regiments had done its damage: 'Of the Duke of *Berwick's* Regiment and of Sir *Edward Hales*, there were but few Men left: And the Regiment of *Irish* Dragoons had most of them sold their Horses, and so march'd . . . on foot'.

Even at this late date there was a hitch. The new garrison may have been at the gate and the old garrison drawn up to depart but no orders had arrived as to where those regiments were to march. Berwick feared another breakdown of order but washed his hands of the whole affair, and rode off to London. Finally it was agreed to hand over possession to the new garrison 'and the Irish to withdraw to the barracks and without the gates to quarter for this night, and to march to-morrow, but where they know not'.[58]

By Friday the marching orders had arrived and the dispersal of the garrison began. Portsmouth, no doubt, breathed a collective sigh or relief, and settled in under the new administration.

## NOTE BY THE AUTHOR

A contribution to the *Portsmouth Papers* series from an Australian Professor of Drama History requires explanation. I was first attracted to the possibility of writing a *Portsmouth Paper* on the events of 1688 seven years ago. It arose from my research on the poet, Thomas Southerne, who replaced one of the 'Portsmouth captains', famed for their part in the Glorious Revolution. My study of Richard Norton, and his theatrical activities in Southwick, led me to his grandfather. Colonel Norton had taken part in the Civil War but was still active enough to play a role in 1688. I wrote that 'in the course of my work, I have unearthed some interesting sidelights on events in Portsmouth and have become interested in the city'. In 1981, the General Editor of the *Portsmouth Papers* wrote to welcome my proposal, noting that seven years should provide enough opportunities for visits to England to study the subject.

By the winter of 1986, the work was sufficiently advanced for me to return to Portsmouth to discuss it with the General Editor, and with Dr. James Thomas, an historian with a special knowledge of the subject. Encouraged by their comments, I completed my contribution to Portsmouth history at about the same time that Portsmouth people were taking a special interest in Australia, two hundred years after the sailing of the First Fleet. The city has a fascinating history, and I am delighted to have had the opportunity to learn about it.


## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am most grateful for the help I have received in Portsmouth and elsewhere during the seven years I have been gathering material for this paper. My researches have taken me to many places, but I would like to record my thanks, in particular, to Portsmouth City Records Office, the Staffordshire Records Office, the British Library, and the Public Record Office. Illustrations of people and events from 1688 were not easily found and I would express my great appreciation of the co-operation of the National Portrait Gallery, the Staffordshire Record Office, the British Library and the Portsmouth Museums. Finally, I would thank the General Editor, the Design Editor and all the members of the Portsmouth Papers Advisory Panel, not only for their comments and acceptance of my paper, but also for coping with the inevitable problems caused by the antipodean location of the author.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42 P.R.O. WO5/3, f. 31; S.R.O. DW 1778 I. i. 1624, 1652, 1659; Bodleian MS. Rawl. A186, f. 453; Berwick, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 36–7.

43 S.R.O. DW 1778 I. i. 1661, 1671; *H.M.C. Dartmouth*, I, pp. 230–1; *(The) E(nglish) C(urrant)*, No. 3 and No. 4.

44 S.R.O. DW 1778 I. i. 1669, 1671; *E.C.* No. 4.

45 Bodleian MS. Rawl. A186. f. 486; S.R.O. DW 1778 I. i. 1690.

46 *H.M.C. Dartmouth*, I, pp. 219, 225–6, III, pp. 69–70; S.R.O. DW 1778 I. i. 1678.

47 *H.M.C. Dartmouth*, III, p. 135; G. H. Jones, 'The Irish Fright of 1688; Real Violence and Imagined Massacre', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 55(1982), pp. 148–53. During James's retreat from Salisbury there were stories that he was, in fact, diverting his march towards Portsmouth. See B.L. Add. MS. 34510, f. 187.

48 *E.C.*, No. 3; *H.M.C. Dartmouth*, III, p. 135.

49 *H.M.C. Dartmouth*, III, p. 135; *E.C.*, No. 4.

50 *H.M.C. Dartmouth*, I, pp. 234, 279–80; *E.C.*, No. 4.

51 *E.C.*, No. 4; *H.M.C. Dartmouth*, I, pp. 234–5.

52 *H.M.C. Dartmouth*, III, p. 138.

53 S.R.O. DW 1778 I. i. 1658, 1713.

54 *H.M.C. Dartmouth*, I, pp. 235, 281–2.

55 *Ibid.*, III, p. 137.

56 *Ibid.*, III, p. 69; Berwick, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 35–6.

57 *E.C.*, No. 4 and No. 7; *H.M.C. Dartmouth I, pp. 236, 282–3* and III, pp. 70, 138–9.

58 *E.C.*, No. 4 and No. 5; *H.M.C. Dartmouth*, III, p. 237.


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